

is dependent upon you for their food, shelter, clothing, and leadership, and to say I have been fired, my job is out?" Let them have a chance to explain it to a Senator.

I would ask anybody here how many times have they have sat down with an ordinary, hard-working citizen for an hour or a half-hour or for 2 or 3 hours and let that person explain to them the real conditions of life, not what it is like to make sure that company A, company B, or company C has an appropriate tax deduction for their particular interest or that they can expand their power to communicate because they think it is good for the public.

They certainly cannot take Members to a beach resort in the Caribbean to discuss a problem that they individually are having with the Tax Code or how far behind they have fallen on their mortgage payments.

Lobbyists have lots of time under the present structure to do just those things. And it certainly gives them an edge over John Q. Public, whether a lobbyist goes on a trip with an individual and you sit on the deck of a boat fishing for 3 days, or you go to a tennis tournament where the pro fakes his inability to beat the Senator just to win a couple of points, or you are out on a golf trip where you get a golf bag as part of the trip, or you go to a ski tournament—and I have seen them first hand—where it is a uniform, a jacket that could be expensive, maybe a pair of skis, free lessons from one of the top pros in the ski business, sitting in a chair lift going up the side of the mountain that can be a 20 or 25 minute ride in some places, and the lobbyist is sitting alongside of you, and it is Joe and Harry and they talk 20 minutes at a clip riding up and down the mountain.

What do you think the lobbyist talks about, horticulture or the latest way to make a healthy salad? He has a mission, a mission for which he or she is paid, and the mission is to try to develop an attitude within that Senator that has to be favorable to my company, my course of action, my industry, my association. The average citizen does not have a chance to do that. And when they see Members of Congress at the fanciest restaurants getting wine, getting dined, they resent it. They think the deck is stacked against them. They think it is wrong. And I agree. They do not respect a system that operates that way.

Mr. President, I said it before. I do not stand before my colleagues to criticize anyone or to question anyone's motives. I am not claiming to be the holy one around here; I am not. But I do think we all need to change the way we do business. The public certainly thinks so, and it is about time we get it done.

The bill before us is a strong piece of legislation, with tough new rules on gifts. It would ban all gifts—all gifts—from lobbyists. It would prohibit lobby-

ists from taking Members on recreational trips.

Unfortunately, the purpose of this legislation is being either misunderstood or misrepresented because I, like the distinguished Senator from Alaska, who spoke just a few minutes ago, believe that wherever possible we ought to support voluntary groups that have a humanitarian or social mission. But if the organizations sponsoring the trip spend more on feeding and hosting Senators and their travel to get to an event than the ultimate beneficiary gets, there is something in that arithmetic that does not sound particularly honest. And as a consequence what we have said is any trip that is substantially recreational is prohibited. There is no prohibition to participating in charitable events as long as the focus is on the charity.

So, Mr. President, we are at a point in time when we have to step up to the plate. Under the Republican proposal, Members of Congress would be able to accept an unlimited number of gifts so long as each gift is worth less than \$100. That means it can be lunch; it can be theater tickets; it can be dinner the next day; it can be a tennis racket, if they still cost less than \$100; it can be anything as often as a lobbyist likes as long as it costs less than \$100. The \$99.95 special is OK, and it can continue forever.

Well, it does not take long for a few of those to convince someone that this lobbyist is more than a good friend who just wants to be a nice guy.

Lobbyists under the proposal that our Republican friends are putting up could give Senators tickets to the opera one day, tickets to the Super Bowl the next day, tickets to a fancy restaurant the next day, as long as they are buying tickets that cost less than \$100, and so on and so on. Mr. President, that is not reform. It is a sad joke, and it is just not going to wash with the American people.

Before I conclude, I wish to express my appreciation to Senator LEVIN and Senator WELLSTONE and Senator FEINGOLD, all of whom have played critical roles in the development of this legislation. We have been close allies in what has been a long and difficult battle. I appreciate their effort, their skill, and their cooperation.

In conclusion, I urge my colleagues to support this bill and to reject the Republican alternative. Let us finally ban gifts from lobbyists. Let us try to win the confidence of the American people up front, and let us do it the right way.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LEVIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, we have before us a bipartisan, very tough gift reform bill, and this bill will finally put an end to the situation where we get free tickets and free meals and we get recreational travel paid for courtesy of special interests. It is a tough

bill, but cynicism is running deep in this country, and they want political reform. The worst thing we could do would be to pretend we are reforming gifts when we are not doing it.

Now, the McConnell substitute represents business as usual. We are pretending to be tough in the McConnell substitute, but basically we are continuing the current rules—pretending to be tough but basically maintaining the status quo. It is what I would call a sheep in wolf's clothing. It is pretend reform. If you can give an unlimited number of \$99 gifts without disclosure, without accumulating them, that is sham reform. This recreational travel where we can get fancy resorts, fancy meals paid for by special interests, a vacation because it is billed as a charitable event, because part of the money which the special interest pays into the charity goes to the charity, what is left over after they pay for our recreational travel, that has to stop. That has helped to bring this body into disrepute. We must change it. I hope we will change it and do real reform today or tomorrow or when we finally resolve the gift issue.

#### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, it is my understanding that at 11 o'clock, the Senator from New Jersey is to be recognized to offer an amendment on the lobbying reform bill; that we are now returning to lobbying reform, and that the time will then be divided where he will control half the time and the Senator from Kentucky or whoever the majority manager of the bill is will control the other half of that 1-hour debate time. Is the Senator from Michigan correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

#### LOBBYING DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1995

The PRESIDING OFFICER. May the Chair announce at this time that under the previous order, the hour of 11 a.m. having arrived, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1060, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1060) to provide for the disclosure of lobbying activities to influence the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from New Jersey is recognized to offer an amendment on which there shall be 60 minutes of debate.

The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, that 60 minutes is to be divided, as I understand it, between my legislation proponents and those who oppose, to just alert those who are interested.